

THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
STADTHOLDERSHIP

FROM ITS  
Origine to the present Time.

Written by a *FRENCHMAN*;

AND

Translated by an *ENGLISHMAN*.

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With NOTES by the Translator.

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L O N D O N :

Printed for M. PAYNE, at the *White-Hart* in  
*Pater-Noster-Row*. M.DCC.XLIX.



# P R E F A C E.

**T**HE Translator undertook this Piece, to give the World a Specimen of the Sentiments of a *French Partizan* on the Office of Stadtholder, and the State of the *Dutch Nation*, when under the Influence of its Authority. He hopes the Notes he has subjoin'd, will, in some measure, obviate the false Facts and Reasonings, 'which this partial Writer would impose upon the Unwary. They can, indeed, have not the least Weight with any Reader, who shall coolly reflect on the Causes and Consequences of that late glorious Event, the investing the present Prince of *Orange* with the Power and Dignity of Stadtholder, from which it is evident, that the Exercise of this Office, and the real Interest of the United Provinces, are inseparably connected.

In his several Characters of that Race of Heroes (in which the Right to this Office is inherent) he has not fail'd attempting to obscure the Lustre of their publick Virtues, by a forced Mixture of private Vices, which he obtrudes without Proof.

I shall only say, that in one Instance (the present amiable Stadtholder) all *Europe* must be convinced of the Falseness and Baseness of his Calumnies: And with regard to another, an *Englishman* cannot easily be deceived, when he reflects, that his not being now a shackled Slave, but, on the contrary, in a State of the most extensive Freedom, must be ascribed to the publick and private Virtues of our Great Deliverer, King *William* the Third.

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ERRATA. P. 17, Line 12, for Crown read Throne.

# PREFACE

The first object of this work is to present a clear and concise statement of the principles of the science of the mind, and to show how these principles are applied in the various branches of human knowledge. The second object is to show how the principles of the science of the mind are applied in the various branches of human knowledge. The third object is to show how the principles of the science of the mind are applied in the various branches of human knowledge.

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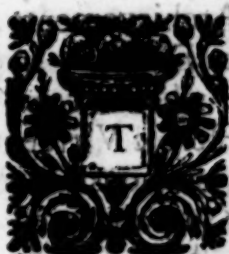
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T H E  
H I S T O R Y  
O F T H E  
S T A D T H O L D E R S H I P , & c .



HE *Netherlands* had long groaned under a Yoke, received with Reluctance, and born with Indignation, when \**Philip II.* broke it by an Effort, to make it yet more heavy.

THIS Prince, born to be the Scourge of *Europe*, which he threw into Confusion by his Intrigues,

\* *The Low Countries fell to the House of Austria in the Year 1477, by the Marriage of Mary de Valois, Heiress of Burgundy with the Emperor Maximilian; who, after much fighting, got his Son Philip acknowledged Earl of Holland at Amsterdam in 1489. This Philip, and Joan, eldest Daughter of Ferdinand King of Spain, were the Parents of Charles V. who, in the Year 1555, abdicated the Empire in Favour of his Brother, and resigned Spain and the Low Countries to his Son Philip the Second.*

B

gues,

gues, and more especially of many of his Provinces which he deluged in Blood, attempted to render the *Spaniards* and *Flemings* subject to the same Laws, tho' perhaps their Characteristics were more different, than those of any other two Nations in the World.

HAD the *Flemings* been less jealous of those Privileges which were about to be destroyed by the Introduction of a new Form of Government, they would notwithstanding have opposed the Enterprizes of a Prince, who had rendered himself odious by his Tyranny, with Obstinacy and Vigour.

THE Remembrance of a late Reign made the present insupportable. In *Charles V.* they admired a Hero whose military Atchievements had filled the Universe with his Fame. In *Philip II.* they despised a Prince who had no Genius for War, nor Relish for Heroic Virtue. The Emperor had won them by a gracious Majesty always easy of Access, the King alienated them by the Haughtiness of an Eastern Tyrant which rendered him invisible to his People; the former spoke the Language of the Country in which he resided, and testified an Esteem of the People and their Customs; the latter spoke *Spanish* at *Brussels*, and his Manner of Life was the same at *Amwerp* as at *Madrid*. *Charles* took every Opportunity to gain the Love of his People; *Philip* seemed as if he sought Occasion to incur a general Odium.

THE

THE Disaffection which he had thus propagated he soon perceived and resented; he therefore returned to find Subjects more dazzled with Sovereignty, or habituated to a more servile Submission in Spain, and left with *Granville* the Secret of his Projects, and the Execution of his Revenge.

THIS Prelate, from his Meanness of Birth, inherited a Meanness of Spirit; yet was he ambitious, proud, insolent, subtle, and vindictive. He attempted to introduce the Court of Inquisition, and to create Bishops proper to support it. These Innovations, odious in themselves, were render'd still more detestable by the Loftiness and Inflexibility of the Minister that proposed them; so that the incensed *Flemings* carried their Complaints before the \*Governess; nay more, they invited *Don Carlos* to put himself at their Head, and to defend them from the rash and vi-

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\* Four hundred Gentlemen presented a Petition to the Governess *Madam de Parma*, and being all in plain Cloaths, a superb Courtier told her by way of Contempt, that they were a Company of *Gueux* (Beggars) not worth her Notice. The confederate Nobility applied this Nickname to themselves without the least Resentment; and cloathed themselves all in grey, and wore little wooden Porringers and Beggars Bottles in their Hats, and drank Healths publicly to the *Gueux* at their Entertainments. Several of these worthy Men were afterwards executed at *Brussels*, the Drums beating all the Time, that their dying Speeches might not be heard. But when Count *Egmont* was beheaded the French Resident at *Brussels* wrote to his Court, that he had the Joy of seeing that Head cut off, which had twice made France tremble.

olent Measures, which the Malice of their Enemies, and the Envy of their Virtue and Glory, had inspired against them.

THIS young Prince was indued with that Greatness of Soul, that Thirst after Fame, that exalted Courage, that Compassion for the Distressed, which constitute the Hero; but an ungovernable Passion that possess'd him for singular and romantic Adventures, greatly disparaged his Virtues. The Project that was proposed to him, appear'd noble, because it was extravagant; and therefore he embraced it: But he pay'd with his Head \* the Price of his Folly, and the Duke of *Alva* was immediately dispatch'd. into *Flanders* to chastise the Malecontents.

THIS great General, (whose Abilities *Charles* the Fifth, who was an excellent Judge of Mankind, admired beyond those of all other Men) affected at first to seek a Reconciliation. And to

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\* The Priests could never forgive some threatenings he had dropt against the Inquisition, and accordingly instigated his Father, who was but too bloody in State Affairs, to take away his Life: He had the Liberty of chusing what manner of Death he should die; and accordingly he went into a Bath, order'd the Veins of his Legs and Arms to be open'd, and then commanding every body to withdraw, he took into his Hands the Queen's Picture in Miniature, which he always wore about his Neck, and which had first kindled in him an ungovernable Passion, and kept his Eyes fixt on the fatal Picture, without any regard to the tremendous State into which he was launching, till the Shiverings of Death interrupted his amorous Contemplations. A strange Instance of the Hardness of Man's Heart, when under the Dominion of any violent Passion!



this end, he propos'd an amicable Conference, to which he invited the three Nobles, whose Birth, Fortune, Credit, and Capacity, had render'd most formidable and offensive to the Monarch he represented. Count *d' Egmont* had rais'd his Reputation by his Success in War: Count *Horn*, *Montmorency*, had captivated the Affections of the People by his Liberality; and *William*, Prince of *Orange*, had excited their Admiration by his Wisdom: The first was honour'd most; the second best beloved; and the third the most obey'd. *Egmont* and *Horn* were so far deluded by the Duke's Address, to whom Disimulation was become familiar, that the former, foreseeing the Estates of the Prince of *Orange*, who prudently declined the Conference, would be confiscated, said to him, at taking Leave, *Farewel, Prince, without Territories: His Highness* gravely reply'd, *Farewel, Count, without a Head*. The Event verifi'd the Prince's Prediction.

THE Death of these two Noblemen confirm'd the Aversion of the *Flemings*, and plac'd the Prince of *Orange* at the Head of their Affairs without a Rival. Of all the great Men in *Flanders*, *William* was the only one whom *Granville* feared, as he thought no other capable of forming and sustaining a Party against him. And therefore, when this Prelate, being then at *Rome*, received the first Intelligence of the Commotions in the *Low Countries*, he hastily demanded, *If the Dumb-man* (a Name he had given Prince *William*) *was secured?* And being answer'd in the Negative.

Then



*Then, said he, the Duke of Alva has done Nothing.*

WILLIAM I. had, in reality, a Genius to plan great Enterprizes, Greatness of Mind to embark in them, and Bravery to execute them. He had, for Life and the Pleasures of it, that Indifference, which paves the way for great Actions. He was bent upon acquiring Glory, or, what to him seem'd more precious, Reputation ; and there were no Difficulties that lay in the Road to it, which he was not capable of surmounting. He lamented it, as a Misfortune, not to have lived in those renowned Times, when the Fate of Empires was to be decided by the Merit of particular Persons. He had the Happiness of uniting Thousands to advance his Ambition, and second his Revenge. These Passions lurk'd in the Breast of this Prince, but they were not predominant ; their Violence never got the ascendant of his Reason. He knew that his Party was not yet sufficiently united to undertake any thing of Moment ; and therefore he wisely withdrew into the Heart of the Empire, where he perfected at his Leisure the Plan he had projected for accomplishing a Revolution.

PRINCE *William*, among other Talents, had the Art of engaging in his Interest all those with whom he conversed. By which means he gain'd so effectually the Esteem and Confidence of the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, that they lavish'd upon him their Prayers, their Advice,  
their

their Forces, and, what will scarcely be believed, their Treasures.

WITH these Auxiliaries the Prince of *Orange* march'd twice into the *Low Countries*, and as often miscarry'd thro' the Weakness and Irresolution of the *Flemings*, who thought they should hazard too much by declaring in his favour. The great Vicissitudes of Fortune, so apt, in the ordinary Affairs of Life, to surprize us, are but the natural Consequences of bold and hazardous attempts. And tho' they make a deep Impression on vulgar Minds, yet serve only to awaken the Courage of the Noble. Accordingly, Prince *William*, from its repeated Defeat, began to conceive better Hopes of his Enterprize. He took for his Device a Sea-bird, which is always seen to swim on the Crest of the Surge; with this Motto, *mediis tranquillus in undis*. And by the Advice of Admiral *Coligni*, he attempted to execute his Project by Sea. Fortune, that had hitherto cross'd all his Designs, now began to smile upon him, and in a short time made him Master of *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Overysse*, *Guelderland*, *Friesland*, &c.

THE *Spaniards*, more enraged than dismay'd by these Misfortunes, prepared in earnest to recover their Loss. The War became general, obstinate, and bloody; the Success doubtful, various, and dear-bought; the Hatred implacable, blind, and irreconcilable. At length, the Prince of *Orange* became sole Conqueror. By overcomeing successively the Obstinacy of the  
Duke

Duke of *Alva*, \*the Caution of General *de Requesans*, the Artifice of Don *John of Austria*, and the Experience of the Duke of *Parma*, he had the Satisfaction, at *Utrecht* in 1549, to give Birth to the Constitution of the States General, otherwise called the *Seven United Provinces*, who chose him for their *STADTHOLDER*.

\* It was *Charles the Fifth's* Injunction to Philip to treat the *Netherlands* with Lenity, and they would prove his most complying and faithful Subjects; whereas *Alva's* Maxim was to keep the Subject in Awe by Arms, which he obstinately persisted in. On his Arrival he erected the Court of Tumults, nicknamed the *Bloody Court*, who ushered in their sanguinary Proceedings with a Declaration that it was a Crime against divine and human Majesty to say the King had no Right to annul all the Privileges of these Provinces. Gallowses and Wheels were set up in the Highways, and the very Trees bent with the Weight of the Carcasses hanging on them; so that, as *Hoët* observes, the Air which the beneficent Creator intended for the Respiration of the Living, was become the infected Habitation of the Dead. *Alva* was so keen an Instrument of his Master's Severity, that he boasted to have executed above 18,000 Persons, besides those who fell in the Fury of War. *Pius V.* shew'd his Approbation of such active Zeal against Hereticks, by sending *Alva* a Hat and a Sword. The Arsenal at *Cassel* has a Monument of *Alva's* Cruelty, which is a Sabre with these Verses on the Blade.

*Harlemi quondam Albani dominante furore*

*Christiadam madidum sæpe cruore fui;*

*Wolmercusanò verum nunc munere tandem*

*Servio justitiæ Dux Gulielme tuo.*

**William I.**

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William I. Prince of ORANGE,  
*First Stadtholder, Captain and Ad-  
 miral General, Anno 1579.*

**B**Y the Dignity of Stadtholder Prince *William* became posselt of very high Prerogatives, the most eminent whereof were:  
 1. To pardon Criminals. 2. To preside virtually in the Courts of Judicature, and to cause all their Proceedings to be carried on in his Name. 3. To chuse the Magistrates of Cities, out of such as were presented to him by the Burghers; and in some Places the Disposal of Employments was wholly vested in his Hands. 4. To send Embassadors in his own Name, and upon his own Affairs, to foreign Courts; and to give separate Audience to such as were sent by sovereign Powers to the States General. 5. To cause the Laws of the Republic to be put in Execution. And, 6. to determine all Differences that might arise concerning the particular Privileges of any of the great Companies, Cities, or Provinces.

BESIDES the Stadtholdership *William* had also the high Offices of Captain and Admiral General conferr'd upon him, which gave him the absolute Direction of the Army in the Ser-



vice of the Republic, and of her Navy, with the Disposal of all Employments depending thereupon. All the military Officers were obliged to take an Oath of Fidelity to him, in like manner as they did to the States of the Provinces, and to the Assembly of the States General. These high Honours have since been made hereditary in the House of *Orange*, both in the Male and the Female Line.

This Prince liv'd, however, but a little while to enjoy the Favours which Fortune had bestow'd upon him, being \*assassinated in the 51st Year of his Age by *Balthazar Gerrard*, a *Frenchman*, prompted thereto by no personal Enmity, but instigated by the Love of Money and the fair Promises of *Spain*; or, it may be, hurried on to so foul a Crime by an Enthusiastic Zeal, which was the prevailing Characteristic of those unhappy Times.\*

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\* *The Wretch had conceived the Design for many Years before; and executed it under a Pretence of asking for a Passport. The Wound was so mortal that the Prince died without saying any more than, Lord have Mercy upon my Soul, and this poor People. Words which, uttered at that awful Moment, carry with them a strong Proof that the Public Good lay very near his Heart. This Murder threw the whole Country, Cities, and Villages, into such Lamentations, as if every one had lost what was most dear to them. These are the most genuine Honours and never to be found for an Usurper. The Assassin was but 22 Years old, and shewed such Hardiness, that, when his Flesh was plucked off with red-hot Pinchers, he did not utter the least Groan or Cry; but often repeated, that, if he had not done it, he would do it again. The Spaniards celebrate him among their Martyrs.*

*Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum.*

WILLIAM



WILLIAM the First, tho' descended from a Race of illustrious Heroes, yet he surpassed them all. Without Support he had the Courage to lay himself open to the Resentments of a Prince, whose furious and malevolent Temper had entail'd upon him the odious Appellation of *the Devil of the South*.\* Without an Army he had the Bravery to oppose the most formidable Power at that time in *Europe*. Without Experience he had the Skill to rout the best Generals that *Spain*, perhaps, ever produced. Without a Council he had the Dexterity sometimes to deceive the most politic People ; yet never suffer'd himself to be surpris'd by them. Without Revenues he had the Secret of paying his Soldiers better than the Masters of the new-discover'd World, by which means he frequently recruited his Army, with Troops from that of his Enemy. Without Dominion he had the Happiness to reign almost absolute in the Hearts of his Followers, who ventured their Peace, their Fortunes, and their Lives, to shake off the

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\* *Who can deny but that this Prince acted a very unchristian Part in many Occurrences, yet when he was upon his Death-bed, he ordered his two Coffins to be brought, and said with the same Unconcernedness as if he had been regulating the Ceremonial of his Coronation, Anthony, you'll find in my Wardrobe a Piece of Gold and Black Brocade, with Gold Lace : Let the Wooden Coffin be covered with it, and lined with White Sattin ; then put the leaden Coffin into it. I won't be open'd nor im-balm'd, but only wrapt up in a Sheet with my Shirt on, and a little Wooden Cross hanging at my Neck.*

Yoke

Yoke of their Oppressors. But after all, the great Master-piece of Prince *William* was, to be able to persuade the People that he had nothing else at Heart but their Freedom; when, at the same time, he was labouring with all his Might to make himself their Master.

If we trace his Steps with Attention, we shall clearly discover this in all his Designs, his Actions, and his Policy. He was the Man, who long before had paved the way for the intended Revolution, by propagating or at least countenancing new Doctrines, which he knew to be disagreeable to the Court of *Madrid*. It was he, who, under frivolous Pretences, blew up the Fire of Civil War, and spread the Flames of Discord every where. It was he, who, by executing the Plan he had formed of an execrable War, alienated the Hearts and Affections of the People, and spread Divisions amongst them never to be reconciled. He was the Man, who, successively *Lutheran*, *Catholic*, and *Calvinist*, and thereby supposed of no Religion at all, prohibited the *Romish* Worship, as the only remaining Tye, by which the People could be kept firm to *Spain*. It was he, who by his Arrogancy, Perfidiousness and Practices, caused the Archduke *Matthias* and the Duke *d'Alençon* to be recalled, because their Authority gave him Umbrage. It was he, who thrice broke up the Conferences, when in great Forwardness to put an End to all Differences by an amicable Reconciliation.

ALL

ALL these Strides to arbitrary Power succeeded to his Wish, and he was just upon the point of gratifying his Ambition, when the fatal Blade\* put a Period to his Life, and with it his Designs, his Fortune, and his Hopes.

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\* It was not a Blade but a Pistol, loaded with three Bullets, according to the History of the Orange Family dedicated to the present glorious Stadtholder. Besides the very Holes of the Balls are shewn to this very Day in a Pillar at Delft. See another Account in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1747, p. 604. This partial Writer is often in an Error both as to Facts and Characters.



Maurice,

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Maurice, Prince of ORANGE.

*Second Stadtholder, Captain and  
Admiral General, Anno 1583.*

**A**T the Death of Prince *William*, the Affairs of the *Low Countries* were left in dreadful Confusion, into which he had thrown them by Design. It was always his Opinion, that he could regulate them, whenever he had any particular Interest of his own to pursue. The Duke of *Parma*, like an able General, took Advantage of this Consternation of the *Dutch*, and in a few Days retook *Bruges*, *Ghent*, *Dendermonde*, *Nimeguen*, *Grave*, *Antwerp*, and several other Places of considerable Strength. The Torrent of Conquest began to flow in upon her, and the Republic seem'd to be on the very Brink of Destruction. In this Dilemma, the States saw no other way to avoid the *Spanish* Yoke, than by putting themselves under the Protection of some other Power. But they were a while in suspense, whether that Power should be *England* or *France*. At length *France*, tho' then in her most abject State, was preferred to *England* tho' in her meridian Glory.

BUT



BUT *Henry III.* neither knew how to govern his own People peaceably at home, nor to raise Disturbances among his Enemies abroad : neither to provide against Accidents, nor to take Advantage of those that offer'd. Already over-pressed with the Weight of his Crown, he refused to enlarge his Dominions with a Part of the *Netherlands*. The States being deprived of all Hopes from this Quarter, thought it convenient to turn their Eyes towards *England*.

ELIZABETH, whose Conduct has ever been applauded, even by those who had the greatest reason to decry it, fill'd at that time the *British\** Throne. This Princess, styled King *Elizabeth* for her manly Spirit, as King *James* who succeeded her was called Queen *James* for his Timidity, judged with reason that it was for the Interest of her People to confine her Dominions within the Limits which the Ocean had prescribed. But tho' Prudence forbade that she should accept the Possession of the *Low Countries*, yet Compassion inclined her to send them powerful Succours, which the Pride and Inactivity of the Earl of *Leicester* who commanded them, render'd ineffectual, and even fatal to the Republic.

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\* *The Frenchman here is strangely out, for who does not know that England and Scotland jointly make the Island of Britain, and in Elizabeth's Time were not united under one Monarch ; and History does not admit of such Figures as the whole for a Part.*



IN this critical Conjunction *Maurice*, Son to Prince *William*, was placed at the Head of Affairs. Tho' he was then but seventeen Years old, yet Affection inclined them at first to overlook his tender Age, and his Bravery afterwards confirm'd their Esteem. Fortune, that had long attended the Duke of *Parma*, and crown'd him with Success, deserted him at once to fight for the new Stadtholder, whose Life was almost one continued Series of Battles, Sieges, and Triumphs. *Henry le Grand* was wont to boast, *That he was the best General in the World, and Maurice Prince of Orange the next.* He was, indeed, perfectly Master of the Art of War, without being distinguish'd for other Abilities; and in all his Exploits he discover'd the Hero. His Camp was the universal School of *Europe*; and his Disciples have thought it their Duty to support, and, it may be, to advance his Reputation. Like *Monteculi* he possessed the Art, so little understood, of Marches and Encampments. Like *Vauban* he had the Talent of fortifying Towns, and rendering them impregnable. Like *Eugene*, the secret of subsisting numerous Armies in the most barren and desolated Countries. Like *Vendome*, he had the good Fortune to make the Soldiers do more upon an Emergency, than he could reasonably expect from them. Like *Conde*, that quick Discernment which infallibly decides the Fate of Battles. Like *Charles* the XIIth he could make the Hardships of Hunger, Cold, and Fatigue almost familiar to his Troops.

Like

Like *Turenne* he had the Art, now wholly disregarded, of husbanding the Lives of Men. In short, if the Judgment of the Chevalier *Folard* may be rely'd on, *Maurice* was the greatest General of Foot, that, since the Times of the ancient *Romans*, the World has produced.

THE Descendants of the House of *Orange* have, however, been no less noted for Ambition, than renown'd for Valour. Like *William*, *Maurice* was for conquering more for himself, than for his Country. Dazzled with the Lustre of a *Throne* ~~Crown~~, he was resolv'd to mount one; and in order thereto disclos'd his Design to the Grand Pensionary, the only Man, at that Time, who could blast his Hopes, or crown them with Success. *Barneveldt* was possess'd of all that Authority, which a noble Mien, a manly Eloquence, an inflexible Integrity, uncommon Abilities, signal Services, and a consummate Experience every where command. He was an open Enemy to Injustice, Deceit, Cabals, and Innovations of every kind, even tho' they might have their Use. He was, in short, a ROMAN. Inferior neither to *Fabritius* nor *Cato* in Virtue, he surpass'd them in Fortitude. *Maurice*, ashamed of the discovery he had made, and vex'd to appear ambitious and treacherous to no purpose in the sight of a Man so disinterestedly just, resolv'd to effect his Ruin. Tho' this was a dangerous Step, yet it was a necessary one; and the easier to accomplish it, he fell in with those who envied the Power and Reputation of this great Man; and not long after

D

ter an Opportunity offer'd to set his Instruments to work.

Two Divines of the University of *Lyden* had about this Time divid'd all *Holland* by the *Boldness* or *Novelty* of their Doctrines. *Gomarus* endeavour'd to overthrow the Rights of Free-will, *Arminius* to lessen those of Grace. The former made God the Author of Sin; the latter ascrib'd to Man the Merit of good Works. The one maintain'd what he thought the true Sentiments of *Calvin*; the other what to him appear'd the Dictates of Reason. Both of them were hot factious Enthusiasts; both eager to become Leaders of a Party; in which they both succeeded. Their Doctrines, which, at first, lay hid among the Rubbish of the Schools, crept, by degrees, into Churches, Colleges, and Consistories. The Contagion became general; and the People, incapable of judging for themselves in Matters of such Importance, blindly adopted the Sentiments each of his own Preacher, or of him that was most esteem'd. The States General knowing the Temper of Divines, began to apprehend the Consequences. A public Conference was proposed to calm their Minds; but this serv'd only to inflame them more. The odious Distinctions of *Gomarists* and *Arminians* were here indelibly fix'd, and became the Source of unspeakable Malice, the Violence whereof may be conceiv'd, as Religion was its Object.\*

T H E R E

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\* No Fire burns so fiercely as that which is kindled at God's Altar. Thoulouse, a City in France, has manifested in numberless

THERE are certain Times when Men of the most moderate Principles are compelled to prefer one Party to another, to avoid the Reproach of both. *Barneveldt*, reduced to this fatal Necessity, whether from Conviction, Humour, or Reason, declared for the *Arminians*, because the most pacific. *Maurice*, to whom every kind of Worship was indifferent, was, however, determined not to conform to that of the Grand Pensionary; and therefore inclined towards the *Gomarists*, the most violent, because the most dogmatic. True and sincere Zeal never inspired in any Man greater Activity, than the Appearance of it did in the Stadtholder. Caresses, Places, Promises, Pensions; all were heaped upon the Professors, the Ministers, and Magistrates, who

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*berless Instances, its Inveteracy against the Reformed and their Religion; but here's a very singular one: When the favourable Ediēt of January 1561 was restored by the Peace in 1568, no less than four Orders were sent to the Parliament of Thoulouse before it could be brought to register the Ediēt, and then they clogg'd it with so many Restrictions as invalidated the chief Articles of it. Not satisfied with this they sent a Deputation to the King, to obtain the Prohibition of the Reformed Religion within the District of Thoulouse. Besides, the Corporation also sent three Deputies to the King, ordering them, that in case it were his Majesty's positive Will that the Ediēt should be irrevocably maintained in Languedoc and the Jurisdiction of the Parliament of Thoulouse, they should throw themselves at his Majesty's Feet, and, in the humblest Manner, petition that the Inhabitants of Thoulouse may be allowed to sell their Effects, and remove to such Places as his Majesty shall appoint, chusing rather to forsake their native Place and Country, than to dwell among the Synagogues of Firebrands, Rebels, and Enemies to the Holy Roman Church. See Annals of the City of Thoulouse. The charitable Author highly approves such a firm Resolve.*

declared



declared for *Gomar*; and these were the Arguments with which he baffled his Opponents. *Maurice*, having thus sufficiently strengthen'd his Party, his next Endeavour was to procure from *James I. of England* a solemn Condemnation of the Doctrine of *Arminianism*. An act of the greater Importance to his Cause, as the King was an Enemy against whom the *Arminians* were in no Condition with Safety to contend. This Monarch, whom *Henry IV. of France*, call'd *Goody James*, by way of contempt, chose rather to instruct than conquer Mankind; and affected to play the Divine, where nothing could be done but by the Politician. His Heart dilated with Joy to have procured the Synod of *Dort*\*, wherein the *Gomarists*, having the Upper-hand, thunder'd forth

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\* This Synod was obtained in the Year 1618, after many and sharp Contests with the States, and the King sent thither four Divines of great Character, who together with some from Switzerland, Geneva, Germany, besides the Natives, quess'd, as much as in them lay, the *Arminian* Opinion. Notwithstanding this mighty pother *K. James* made against *Arminianism*, yet towards the end of his Reign, and much more in his Son's, there was no coming at Preferment, without being of that Opinion. The Churches of France were forbid to send any Deputies. This Synod is accused of taking the Council of Trent for a Pattern, not allowing the *Arminians* to justify themselves, no more than that at Trent did the Protestants. It was, as one may say, the first and last General Council of the Reformed. It lasted about seven Months. The Lutherans were extreamly amazed at the *Dordracenians*. Their Transactions are judged by many moderate Persons to verify *Gregory Nazianzen's* Saying, that he had never seen any Good proceeding from a Council, that the Diseases of the Church are rather increased than cured thereby. The Jesuits had a Fling at this Synod in the following Echo.

*Dordrechtii Synodus? Nodus. Chorus integer? Æger,  
Conventus? Ventus. Sessio stramen? Amen.*

Anathema's



Anathema's against their Opposers. This kind of Artillery did of itself no great Execution ; but it furnished a Pretence to ruin the Accused. Under Colour of putting the Decrees of the Assembly in Force, *Maurice* carried the vindictive Sword through all the Seven Provinces, and plundered, imprisoned, or banished every one whom he judged it his Interest to believe, and to prove an *Arminian*. *Barneveldt* was the last Victim whom he sacrificed to his Revenge. He caused the Father of his Country to be condemn'd, as the Destroyer of its Religion.\*

NOTHING more frequently occurs in History, than Instances of ambitious Men, who have made Religion subservient to their own Advancement ; and who have mounted by the Altar to a Throne. Nevertheless *Maurice* did not reap by his Zeal, the Fruit which he expected from it. The Remembrance of the Grand Pensionary soon recoil'd upon the Hearts of the People. Every one took shame to himself for having consented to shorten that precious Life, which was wholly devoted to the Public Good. The Author of so foul a Fact became the Object of universal Hatred, and he appear'd no longer in the Eyes of the Republic, but as the Murderer of the righteous *Barneveldt*.

BESIDES

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\* Some Historians make *Barneveldt* not altogether undeserving of his Punishment as a Stickler for France and Spain, but his Proceedings may be misrepresented and aggravated like the Pr. of Orange's by this Frenchman. However it be, *Maurice's* Character

BESIDES the Public Hatred, three Reasons concurr'd to deprive this Prince of the Sovereignty. 1. The *Gomarists*, whose Cause he had espoused, made him but little Recompence. They knew that in protecting them, he had only his own Interests in view. He had served to their Advancement; they had seconded his Revenge; and therefore they resolv'd to gratify him no farther. 2. *France*, who had upon all occasions discover'd a tender regard for the Republic, whom she consider'd as a foster Child of her own, was very desirous of putting an End to those Divisions, with which she was distracted. She had interest'd herself in favour of *Barneveldt*, with whose Integrity, Zeal, and Capacity she was well acquainted. *Maurice* rejected with Scorn the Mediation of this Court; and *Lewis the Just*, who penetrated the Motive of his ungenerous Proceeding, frankly declared, that if he made the least Attempt upon the public Liberty, he should find in him a powerful Opponent. And, 3. The Stadtholder had conceiv'd vast Hopes from his Nephew, the Elector Palatine, whom a Rebellion had exalted to the Throne of *Bohemia*.\* This *King of Snow*,  
fo

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Character and Interest suffered by it. A Medal was struck representing *Barneveldt* on one Side, and on the Reverse *Belgia* weeping over the Execution with this Inscription, *Mauritiana meum cinxerant Signa Catonem*.

\* *Ferdinand*, who had been elected K. of *Bohemia*, resolv'd to extirpate the Protestants, and began to break thro' the Privileges which were secured to them by the Laws of that Kingdom;  
upon

so called, because his Reign was but a Winter long, was deprived of his hereditary Dominions, and driven to the Necessity of seeking Protection from that very *Maurice*, whom he had flatter'd himself one day to set upon a Throne. The other Protestant Princes of *Germany*, struck with the Blow that had dethroned *Frederic*, forgot all the pompous Promises they had made in favour of an ambitious Stadtholder, and refused to assist him with their Forces, which were hardly sufficient for their own Defence.

So many Crosses made a deep Impression upon *Maurice*, and threw him into Despair. His Life became a continued Scene of Sorrow, Discontent, and Melancholy. He had raised himself in Imagination to a Crown, and he never could get so far Master of himself as to brook the Disappointment. 'Twas Death alone could put an End to his Troubles, which was not long in coming to his Relief.\*

Frederic

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*upon which the States of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia chose Frederic, the Elector Palatine, a sincere Protestant, who had married the Daughter of K. James I. This stood them in little stead, for James could not bear that even an elected and limited King should be called in Question by his Subjects. Though the English Nation were much inclined to support him, his Queen's setting up Balls, Masks, and other Diversions of a Court, disgusted the good Bohemians. Pr. Maurice assisted him, but for want of proper Succours Frederic was driven out of all his Dominions. Thus the fairest Opportunity was lost, that has offered since the Reformation, for its full Establishment.*

\* *If any Vexation hasten'd Maurice's Death, it was an unsuccessful Attempt to relieve Breda, in which Attack the English,*  
under

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Frederic Henry, Prince of ORANGE

*Third Stadtholder, Captain and  
Admiral General, Anno 1625.*

**A**S Prince *Maurice* was never married, he left his Title and Effects to *Frederic Henry*, his Brother. The People, not wholly recover'd from their late Apprehensions, look'd narrowly into the Character and Temper of their new Stadtholder, in order to discover what the Republic had to hope or to fear from him. As this Prince was incapable of Dissimulation, it was easily perceived, that he was born without any strong Propensity either to Vice or Virtue. *Arminians, Gomarists, Catholics, and Calvinists*, were all equally acceptable to him; who prefer'd an upright Heart before Bigotry of any kind. His Imagination was rather just than lively, his Temper more mild than haughty, his Mind rather serene than clouded,

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*under Lord Vere, showed such Bravery as deserv'd Success. The Frenchman is wrong if even according to his favourite Delvit, who said that the Continuance of the Republick was owing to the great Moderation of the Prince's Predecessors among whom none had the Thoughts of Royalty but the last, nor would he ever have fallen into them without being put upon them by the French.*

and



and his Soul rather generous than inclining to Ambition.

MAURICE had spared no Pains to inspire this young Prince with Sentiments like his own, but his Endeavours fail'd of the desired Success. Neither Vice nor Virtue will make any great Progress, where the Temper of the Mind is improper for their Cultivation. Prince *Henry*; however, had not wholly rejected his Brother's Views. He long'd to mount a Throne, but was for trusting Providence to further his Advancement. The grand Motive of the House of *Orange* was secretly at his Heart, but he was not of a Temper to sacrifice his Peace in the Prosecution of it. He was either too wise, or too inactive, to put the Happiness of his Life, and the Enjoyment of an ample Fortune, upon the hazard against an uncertain Sovereignty. He had but one Passion, and, it may be, but one Talent; and that was, for War. The glorious Examples of Valour which his Ancestors had set him, he transmitted to his Descendants. And when he succeeded *Maurice*, whom he had all along emulated, in the Command, the Enemies of the Republic were in doubt whether they had not rather lost, than gain'd any Advantage by the Death of his Predecessor.

WHILE the Stadtholder, every where victorious, increased the Glory of the People under his Protection, the States General, encouraged by the illustrious Character of their Prince, began in earnest to set about establishing their

E Commerce

Commerce upon a solid Foundation, which the intestine Divisions that prevail'd amongst them had hitherto prevented. Their East India Company was the first Object that engrossed their Care. The *Portuguese*, by their Prudence, Courage, and Perseverance, had made themselves Masters of the *Indies*: But falling, about this time, under the Dominion of *Spain*, the States judg'd the Juncture favourable to attack their Settlements in that distant Part of the Globe. As the *Dutch* fought for themselves, and the *Portuguese* now only for their Oppressors, it is easy to conceive on which Side Victory determin'd. In Possession, since that time, of the best Settlements in *Asia*, and of all the Trade to *Japan*, the Company, by its prudent Management, has acquired so high a degree of Power and Reputation in the East, as can hardly be conceived, or credited. The *Asiatic* Trade is by much the more convenient and advantageous to the *Dutch*, as the Spiceries they possess there, draw the Treasures of *America* after them, which the *French* and the *English* are obliged to carry thither for their Purchase.

AFTER healing the Wounds which their East India Company had received, the States next turn'd their Thoughts to those of the West India Company. This Company began by wresting from the *Portuguese* the Trade to *Africa*. Elated and enrich'd by this Success, its next Attempt was upon *Brazil*, from whence also they drove the *Portuguese*; insomuch that this Company became almost as considerable as that of  
the

the East : But the necessary Charges of supporting new Colonies, and the Dividends made to encourage the Proprietors, being both excessive, insensibly diminish'd its Credit ; insomuch, that to redeem it, the Company was forced to part with all its Conquests in *America*, which it was no longer able to protect ; and to content itself with the Trade to *Guinea*, which has ever since been very flourishing.

ANOTHER material Article still remain'd to be adjusted by the States General. The Herring Fishery had long been look'd upon as a golden Mine to the Republic, who annually employ'd therein 150,000 Men, and about 3000 Vessels. *John de Wit* ascribes to this Fishery all the Wealth by which the *Hollanders* have been enabled to shake off the *Spanish* Yoke, to conquer *India*, and to make the Figure they do in *Europe*. The *English*, vex'd to behold such immense Profits drawn by Foreigners from their own Coasts, assumed a Right to oppose them therein, as Sovereigns of the Seas that surround their Island. The *Dutch* despised the Claim ; and, after a sanguinary Contest, have continued to enjoy the Advantages of that Fishery without Molestation ever since.

NOTHING escaped the Vigilance of the States. The Trade to the *Levant*, to *France*, and to the *Baltic* Sea, were all examined, weigh'd, and determin'd, with that Deliberation, Judgment, and Perspicuity, of which the Success is a convincing Proof.

SUCH

SUCH were the important Cares that occupied the *Dutch*, living in Peace, and enjoying Plenty, when they perceived the Genius of their Stadtholder decline a-pace. He was no longer that *Frederic Henry* that delighted in War ; but a Man impair'd, trembling at the most distant Appearance of Danger, a Slave to the Humour of his Wife, and jealous even of his own Son ; so alienated from *France*, as to discover an Aversion to the very Name of *Frenchman* ; and as fond of the *Spaniards*, tho' his irreconcilable Enemies. Weeping at the bare Apprehensions of that Death, whose Horrors he had so often brav'd.\*

THE last Act of his Authority was, to ratify, against the Faith of the most solemn Engagements, the Treaty of *Munster*, whereby he broke his Alliance with *France*, and concluded a separate Peace with *Spain*. Hence it grew into a Proverb, *That sooner or later, either during Life, or at their Death, Stadtholders would ever be fatal to the Republic.*

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\* *These Defects are the injurious Produce of the Frenchman's ill Nature. How different is Van Sandes's Account ; the Prince had all the Winter been under a most racking Fit of the Gout, and in March his fatal Sickness seiz'd him. In the Height of his Pains, and on the Brink of Death, he gave his last Blessing to his Children with a Christian Magnanimity, assuring the States who were present, that it had been his constant Aim to imitate his Father whose Blood was shed for them, and his Brother who had spent his whole Life to the same glorious Purpose. The Minister who attended his last Hours, declared solemnly, that he never saw any one depart with greater Marks of Piety.*

William



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William II. Prince of ORANGE,  
*Fourth Stadtholder, Admiral, and*  
*Captain General, 1647.*

**S**CARCE had *Frederic Henry* breathed his last, when his Son *William II.* was invested with the Dignities of Stadtholder, Captain and Admiral General, the Reversion whereof had been granted him sixteen Years before. This Prince, born with too much Ambition to bear the Rank of a Subject, judged the Juncture favourable to execute the Scheme of Royalty which his Ancestors had projected. Every thing concurr'd to place him upon a Throne, and nothing appear'd in the way of his Advancement. All the Powers of *Europe* were either indifferent as to the Fate of the Republic, or interested in its Destruction. The North was involved in the Calamities of a bloody War, which had successively exhausted *Sweden, Prussia, Poland, and Denmark*; these Powers were too deeply depressed with their own Miseries, to think of those of an infant Commonwealth. The Emperor, deprived by the Treaty of *Westphalia* of that arbitrary Power which the House of *Austria* had usurped in *Germany*, employ'd the Leisure of a forced Peace in forging new Fetters for

for the Empire. *Spain*, humbled to see herself reduced to acknowledge the Independance of the United Provinces, fought rather to increase the Rage of Civil War in those Provinces, than to suppress it. *England*, now under the Tyranny of an Usurper, joined the common Hatred against the *Dutch*, for having dared to interest themselves in the Fate of the unfortunate *Charles I.* And *France* was provoked with those ingrateful Republicans, for having publicly preferr'd their antient Tyrants, to an Alliance with a Crown, to which they were indebted for their Safety.

*WILLIAM* was too clear-sighted not discern the Concurrence of so many promising Circumstances, and too active to let so favourable an Opportunity slip. He wanted only a Pretence to enter upon Action, and it was not long before one offer'd. The Peace with *Spain* was no sooner sign'd, than a Reform of the Troops was proposed in the Assembly of the States, as necessary, as well on account of the Finances, as for the Peace and Commerce of the Republic; most of the Members, whose Policy consisted chiefly in their Oeconomy, Selfishness, and Distrust, received this Motion with Applause. *Cornelius Bicker*, a Man of the greatest Reputation and Interest of any in the Assembly, seconded it with so much Warmth, and Strength of Argument, that the Reduction was resolved on, and an Edict immediately drawn up for that Purpose.

THE

THE Stadtholder dissembled the Satisfaction which this Transaction gave him, under the Appearance of an open and violent Discontent; and seem'd in earnest to oppose it, while at the same time his Emissaries had secret Orders to promote it with all their Credit. He perceived the Troops, who were for the most Part Foreigners, in great Concern at their Fate; and that, by opposing the Reform, he would necessarily interest them in his Fortune, and in the Ruin of the Assembly of the States. Perswaded that nothing he could urge would avail, he was not afraid to employ the likeliest and best Means to prevent it. He represented with that masterly and persuasive Eloquence that was natural to him, the Danger to which the Republic would be exposed without Troops, from the secret Hatred of the *Spaniards*, and the open Resentment of the *French*. To which it was reply'd, that there could be nothing to fear from *Spain*, already involv'd in foreign Wars; nor from *France*, distracted as she then was with Civil Commotions, under the Minority of an Infant King. *William*, failing in this, had Recourse to another Method: He prevail'd with the Princess his Consort, (witheld till now by her Pride from going to any Subject's House,) to visit such Ladies of Distinction as had the Reputation of governing their Husbands. This Expedient succeeded so well at first as to allarm the Prince: But *Bicker*, who scorn'd to be bias'd, talk'd aloud, and repeated so often the inspiring Names of *Sparta* and of *Rome*, of Ci-  
tizen

izen and Patriot, of Public Good and private Property, that his Countrymen, repenting of their Weakness, sacrificed their own Fondness and the Vanity of their Wives, to the Desire of getting themselves a Name, or amassing a Fortune.

WILLIAM, to conclude the Farce he had all along been carrying on, with Propriety, resolved to leave no Method untry'd to heighten the Catastrophe ; and for this end, he went from Town to Town, in order to obtain from each singly, what had been deny'd him in the joint Assembly of the States. But he was every where coldly receiv'd. Some Provinces refused to give him Audience, and the City of *Amsterdam* even shut her Gates against him.

THE Troops, deluded by the Zeal which *William* had counterfeited for their Interest, and moved by the many Affronts he had met with in pleading their Cause, gave him to understand how much they were at his Devotion ; and that he might employ their Valour in whatever Service he pleased. The Prince, who had long impatiently expected a Declaration of this sort, embrac'd it with Eagerness : And immediately gave Orders for all the Parties, distributed at their several Posts, to assemble that very Night in the Neighbourhood of *Amsterdam* ; by reducing of which City, both Revenge and Policy had determin'd him to begin his Expedition. This Capital had inevitably been subdued, and it may be plunder'd, had not the Post-boy from  
*Hambourg,*



*Hambourg*, who passed through the Camp unperceiv'd, allarm'd the Inhabitants of their imminent Danger. That Instant the Gates were shut up, the Burghers put under Arms, the Cannon placed upon the Ramparts, the Sailors posted to guard the Harbour, the Sluices opened, and the Country laid under Water. The Stadtholder, whose Designs were by these Precautions frustrated, having neither Fortitude enough to bear the Disappointment, nor Capacity to alter his Project, saw himself exposed to the Public Derision, which quickly brought him to his Grave.\*

THE *Dutch* Clergy took occasion from this Incident, to interpret the sudden Death of this ambitious Prince, as a visible Mark of the Divine Wrath. The Preachers represented him to their Hearers under the Figure of *Lucifer*, whose Pride was the Cause of his Fall. The Poets, in their Satires, liken'd his Fate to that of *Icarus*, who perish'd by his Rashness. The Magistrates too caused a Medal to be struck to unite the Idea of his Enterprize upon *Am-*

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\* *The Miscarriage of an Enterprize has often hastened the Death of Men of establish'd Character, as may have been the Case of this young Prince. The Marquis Ambrose Spinola, one of the greatest Captains of the last Century, after having done such feats in Germany and Flanders, in the Spanish Service, miscarried before Casal thro' the Spight of the Council at Madrid, at which he grew so desperately enraged, that he died in a Frenzy, crying out whilst his Breath lasted: Me han quitado la honra i. e. they have robbed me of my Honour.*

*sterdam*\* with that of his untimely Death ; on one Side was represented a Sun emerging from the Sea, and on the Shore an unruly Horse running full speed towards the City, with this Inscription from *Virgil*, *Crimine ab uno disce omnes* : And on the Reverse a *Phaeton* thunderstruck for his Presumption, with this Hemestic of *Ovid*, *Magnis excidit ausis*.

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\* The Amsterdammers had kept no Decorum towards this Prince, and all his Aim was to punish some particular arrogant Spirits, without any of those frightful Ideas which the Frenchman raises. The Small Pox carried him off soon after. As for the Divines and Poets, they have been equally free with his incomparable deWit, comparing him to Haman ; besides his Life had been attempted before as an Enemy to Holland, and at last he was tore to Pieces by the enraged Populace.



William

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William III. Prince of ORANGE

*Fifth Stadtholder, Captain and  
Admiral General, Anno 1672.*

THE first Transports of the Public Resentment were scarce abated, when *William III. Posthumus Son of William II.* came into the World. The *Dutch* Populace, who neither know how to bear Tyranny, nor value Liberty ; neither to rest quiet without a Master, nor to obey one, changed all at once their Sentiments and their Language ; and profess'd as much Affection for the Son, as they had shewn Aversion towards the Father. Those lofty Titles they detested in the latter, they long'd to see continued in his Issue. Happy for the Republic, it was then govern'd by Magistrates, who neither courted, nor contemn'd the popular Applause ; who, with nice Discernment, distinguish'd what was her true Glory, and with Uniformity pursued it. These preferr'd the Honour of serving their Country faithfully, to the Advantage of making themselves Partizans ; and on the Plan of this prudent and equitable Administration, the States reserved in their own Hands, the important Trusts of Stadtholder, Captain, and Admiral General.

General. The Friends of the House of *Orange* were labouring, not without some Prospect of Success, to recover the Stadtholdership, and to strengthen their Party ; when an unforeseen Accident put a stop to their Endeavours, and destroy'd their Hopes.

CROMWELL, a Name devoted to the Admiration and Infamy of all Ages, pursued every where with Fury, the unfortunate Descendants of that Throne, which he had just then abolish'd. The *Dutch*, moved thereto by Compassion, had allowed the Exiles a safe Retreat ; and from that Instant *Cromwell* conceived an implacable Hatred against the Republic. Both Sides had Recourse to Arms ; and there never, perhaps, was a War conducted with greater Art, or, in which more Instruments of Treason were employ'd, in order to come at the Knowledge of each others Designs, than this between the Chiefs of the two Republics, who, in all things, seem'd upon a level : Their Birth was mean, their Capacities extensive, their Constitutions robust, their Application to Business unwearied, their Services innumerable, their Reputation universal, and their Power without Controul.

BUT notwithstanding all these correspondent Circumstances, there was still a vast Unlikeness betwixt the Men. *Cromwell* had made his way to Power by Murder, Treason, and Perjury : *John de Wit*, by his Abilities, Services, and Experience. The Protector was bold, factious ; and born, as it should seem, to overturn



turn Kingdoms: The Grand Pensionary hated Oppression, Discord, and Violence. The former made Friendship, Patriotism, and Religion, subservient to the Advancement of his Fortune; the latter, without neglecting his own Concerns, was mindful of the Duties he ow'd to his Friends, his Country, and his God. The Sternness and Arrogancy of the one forced Obedience from all, and was not to be confronted: The natural Dignity and Stateliness of the other commanded Reverence, and none could withhold it. The *Englishman* was equally happy in penetrating the Designs of others, and concealing his own; which, by affecting Frankness and Sincerity in Public Discourse, he disguised the more. The *Dutchman*, no less dexterous, tho' without Deceit, with an easy and natural Simplicity cover'd the most extensive Projects. To compleat his Fortune, the Protector wanted only a Son of equal Abilities to succeed him: To the Grand Pensionary was wanting a more honourable Death.

Of these Rivals in Renown, the best supported must prevail; and *Cromwell* had that Advantage. He compelled the States wholly to renounce the Interest of the House of *Stuart*, and to exclude Prince *William* from the Stadtholdership, because nearly related to that unfortunate Family. The Substance of the Treaty was to this Effect:

“ THAT the States General of the United  
 “ Provinces should never make Choice of the  
 “ Prince

“ Prince of *Orange*, nor any of his Descendants,  
 “ for Stadtholder or Governor of the Republic ;  
 “ nor for Chief or First President of the Coun-  
 “ cil of State ; nor for Captain General of  
 “ the Land Forces ; nor for Governor of a-  
 “ ny particular Province, Fort, or City what-  
 “ soever ; nor for Admral General, Vice Ad-  
 “ miral, Rear Admiral, or Captain of a single  
 “ Ship ; and that they should from thence  
 “ forward effectually oppose all Attempts that  
 “ should be made by this Prince or his Adhe-  
 “ rents to procure him any Employment with-  
 “ in the Territories under the Obedience of  
 “ the Republic.”

THE Restoration of *Charles* the Second to  
 the Throne of *England*, gave new Life to the  
 Friends of the Prince of *Orange* in the United  
 Provinces. The War indeed, which broke out  
 a-fresh between the two Nations, seem'd to con-  
 found their Projects, but produced a quite con-  
 trary Effect. A most detestable Plot was form-  
 ed, even in the very Heart of *Holland*, in favour  
 of the *English* Arms. The Conspirators were  
 persuaded that a Miscarriage, artfully improv-  
 ed, would bring the establish'd Government in-  
 to disrepute, and produce Changes favourable  
 to the Interests of their beloved Prince. But  
 the Grand Pensionary, whose penetrating Eye  
 nothing could escape, suspected this Treachery,  
 discover'd it, publicly proclaim'd it to the  
 World, and brought the Authors of it to ex-  
 emplary Punishment ; instilling, at the same  
 time, his own well-grounded Apprehensions  
 into

into the Minds of the worthiest Members of the Republic.

THE States, terrify'd at the Danger they had escaped, publish'd that famous perpetual and irrevocable Edict, which declared, " That the  
" Office of Stadtholder, or Governor of one  
" or more of the United Provinces, should never  
" be conferr'd upon any Person whatsoever." This Declaration was sign'd by all the Citizens that bore any public Employment in the State; and the Prince himself, against whom it was level'd, was obliged to take an Oath to observe it.

SUCH was the Situation of the United Provinces, when *Lewis* the XIVth enter'd upon Action. This Monarch, whose very Name strikes the Mind with a loftier Idea than all the Characters we read of him can convey, had carried the War into the *Low Countries* in order to support the Pretensions of *Mary Theresa*, his Consort. *Spain*, heretofore so renown'd in *Europe*, both for the Wisdom of her Councils, and her Power, was scarcely, at the Period of which I am speaking, the Shadow of what she had formerly been. After being for Ages past the Terror of other Crowns, she was now sunk so low as to excite only their Compassion. Govern'd by a weak Regent, and by  
a \* Confessor, (of whose Schools \* Father Nitard,  
the best could never form one a Jesuit.  
great Man) this Monarchy fell into such a languishing Condition, as seem'd to preface its  
Ruin.

Ruin. Her Ministers, who in times past, were the First Movers of the general Affairs of *Europe*, were now wholly taken up with little Court Cabals, and trifling Disputes concerning the Privileges of their Posts. Her Ambassadors, who were wont to govern the Councils of all the Princes to whose Courts they were sent, had now so little Credit themselves, as to be obliged to seek the Interest of inferior Ministers. The Conquerors, the Masters of *America*, were scarce able to levy an Army, and still less to pay one.

THE *French*, accusom'd to surmount the greatest Obstacles, found it easy to overcome such an Enemy as I have described. Their Conquests were numerous, and their Progress rapid, in a Country badly fortify'd, and worse defended. The States General, allarm'd for their Frontiers, concluded with *England* and *Sweden* a tripple Alliance. This Step was as fortunate for *Spain*, whose Provinces it saved ; as it was fatal to *France*, whose Projects it confounded. The *Dutch*, rescued from the Danger that threaten'd them, could not forbear insulting their antient Protectors, on Medals struck by Order of their Magistrates, in Writings publish'd by their Wits, and in the ordinary Conversation of their Ambassadors.

LEWIS LE GRAND, who was beloved by his Subjects, dreaded by his Enemies, respected by his Allies, and admired by all the World, could not behold without Indignation the insolent



lent Pride of the United Provinces ; and only suspended his Vengeance for a time, to make it the more terrible. But it broke forth at last in such astonishing Events, as will be remembered as long as the Records of time shall remain.

JOHN DE WIT forsaw the Storm, while it was yet gathering, and, had he been attended to, would either have averted it by proper Acknowledgments, or weaken'd its Force by preparing against the worst. But the Partisans of the Stadtholder would neither consent to the one, nor assist in the other. They hoped by the Calamity of their Country, to accomplish the Ruin of the Grand Pensionary, and the Exaltation of the Prince of *Orange* ; and they were not disappointed. The People, deluded by their Artifices, conceived that the Republic was either betray'd, or ill govern'd. A Stadtholder was every where demanded, and Threats were join'd to the general Cry : inasmuch, that the Magistracy seem'd disposed to sacrifice their own Reason to the Violence of a blind, inconsiderate, and tumultuous Mob.

DE WIT alone, or almost alone, stood firm amidst the Torrent of popular Fury. He had ever, while in Credit, approved of what was reasonable ; and he rejected, when in Disgrace, what appeared to him weak and unjust. He was a Republican to the last ; and, although he saw plainly that it was to no purpose for him to be

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fo, yet he address'd the States nearly in the following Words :

“ IT is now nineteen Years since your High  
 “ Mightinesses rais'd me to the Post I at pre-  
 “ sent enjoy ; during which time I have dis-  
 “ charg'd the Duties thereof with that Dili-  
 “ gence and Success, which every good Citizen  
 “ remembers, and of which it would ill become  
 “ me to remind the Ungrateful. The Cala-  
 “ mities which we at this day feel, I foretold ;  
 “ and, had my Advice been follow'd, might  
 “ have averted : But Heaven, whose gracious  
 “ Providence I adore, thought fit, that other  
 “ Counsels should prevail ; and, far be it from  
 “ me to repine, altho' the fatal Consequences  
 “ that have attended those Counsels, are false-  
 “ ly laid to my Charge. Let those who have  
 “ labour'd with so much Art to prejudice the  
 “ Multitude against me, triumph : They have  
 “ gain'd their Point ; and *De Wit* retires. But  
 “ 'tis neither through Fear nor Idleness that  
 “ I relinquish the Care of the State ; 'tis be-  
 “ cause a Magistrate, hated by the People,  
 “ can no longer be serviceable to the Repub-  
 “ lic. I want neither Comfort nor Revenge.  
 “ All I wish is, that my Successor may do  
 “ more for his Country than I have done ; and  
 “ that his Services may be better accepted.  
 “ I have only to add my last farewell Advice to  
 “ you, which will redound to your Honour :  
 “ Never exalt the Prince of *Orange*. *William*  
 “ has not forgotten the high Rank which his  
 “ Ancestors have held over all your Provinces.  
 Possess'd

" Possess'd of their Power, will he not inherit  
 " their Ambition? Of the four Stadtholders  
 " which you have already had, two have co-  
 " vertly, and two openly endeavour'd to en-  
 " enslave you. And their Successor will have  
 " still an additional Motive to excite him to so  
 " daring an Attempt; that is, Revenge. As  
 " he is the Darling of a very powerful Party,  
 " he will make it speak and act according to  
 " his Mind. Were the Prince, what in fact he  
 " is not, naturally moderate, his Flatterers  
 " would inspire him with Sentiments of Royal-  
 " ty. Can you believe me, when I tell you,  
 " that our present Distress is the sole Conse-  
 " quence of his Intrigues. His Voyage to visit  
 " our Neighbours cover'd his dark Designs.  
 " To accomplish his own Promotion, he has  
 " armed \* the King of *England*, his Uncle, a-  
 " gainst you! 'Tis neither to his Services, nor  
 " to the free Election of the States, but to  
 " Force alone, that he intends to owe his Ele-  
 " vation."

THIS Speech might have strengthen'd irre-  
 solute Minds, but made no Impression on Hearts  
 possess'd with Fear. *William III.* was proclaimed  
 Stadtholder, Captain, and Admiral General.  
 The Populace testify'd their Joy on this Occa-

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\* Do not all English Historians commend the first Dutch  
 War, entered into by Way of Reprisals, and at the Address of both  
 Houses; and the second is as evidently to be imputed to French  
 Counsels. The Success of these two Wars was answerable to the  
 Justice of them.

sion in a very singular manner, by murdering *John de Wit*, and *Cornelius*, his Brother, the two ablest Men belonging to the Republic.

THE Prince of *Orange*, exalted to be Head of the United Provinces, made himself soon after the Soul and Arbiter of *Europe*. He every where caused the Alarm to be spread by his Emissaries, that *France*, being arrived to a greater Height of Power than *Charles* the Vth had ever been able to reach, like him, aim'd at Universal Monarchy, and by her refined Policy was much more likely to attain to it. This Phantom excited the Indignation of other Powers, provoked their Jealousy, strengthen'd their Suspicions, sharpen'd their Policy, and disposed them to form an Alliance for their mutual Security. The designing Stadtholder was the Centre, where every one's Spleen against *France* united. Under the bewitching Notion of forming a Ballance of Power, he reconciled the most divided States, gain'd the Confidence of the warriest Courts, reconciled the most opposite Interests, extinguish'd the most inveterate Feuds, subdued the most obstinate Tempers, roused the most insensible Nations, and gain'd an absolute Ascendancy over the greatest Monarchs.

He made all *Europe* believe, that in order to humble *France*, he must be placed upon the Throne of *England*, instead of the Ally, the Friend, and Admirer of *Lewis the Great*. It must in truth be acknowledged, that *K. James*, by his Misconduct, had paved the way for such  
a Revo-



a Revolution. That Prince had too rashly attempted to subvert both the Religion and the Laws of his Kingdoms ; so that his own Precipitation, or the Incapacity of his Council, defeated the Design. Naturally proud and violent, he esteem'd it beneath the Dignity of a Sovereign to stoop to those little Artifices which captivate the People. He mistook Pride for Greatness of Mind, and Obstinacy for Resolution. He never had Patience to wait for Opportunities, nor Courage (often commendable) to give way to Difficulties.

WILLIAM, though advanced to the Throne of *Great Britain*, did not think the Stadtholdership beneath him. By usurping the one, he confirm'd himself in the other ; and he often used to comfort himself at the *Hague*, when he had met with Crosses that had vex'd him at *London*. The Hearts of the *English* were never open to him, and his gloomy melancholy Disposition render'd him still less acceptable.\* The Necessity he lay under in his Youth to be upon his

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\* *Sir William Temple, and who will question his Judgment ? speaking of him when a Youth, says, he was of more Parts than ordinary, and of the better Sort; and with extreme good and agreeable Humour and Dispositions. King Charles II. said of him, Well, I never was yet deceived in judging of a Man's Honesty by his Looks, and if I am not mistaken in the Prince's Face, he is the honestest Man in the World ; pity that the English People should not open their Hearts to a Prince of such Qualities. Bishop Burnet says, the ill Returns he met with from the English Nation, and their Perverseness towards him, had soured his Mind.*

guard himself, and to be watchful of those about him, brought upon him a Habit of Diffimulation and Reserve; and, without doubt, contributed not a little towards furnishing him with that nice and clear Discernment which he had of Men. By nature proud, and disdaining to be, or even appearing to be govern'd, he took care to let his Ministers and Favourites know, that they were neither to trust too much to their own Judgment, nor to his Affection for them; and he was equally displeased with them when they offer'd to advise him, or presumed to contradict him. He ever discover'd, at the Head of his Armies, more Courage than Conduct; and his Ignorance often involved him in Difficulties, out of which his Valour could not always extricate him. On this account it was, that a certain Prince, before whom he was cried up as a perfect General, reply'd, *Why truly, said he, I never knew a General so young, who had lost so many Battles, and raised so many Sieges\**

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\*His generous Antagonist the Prince of Conde, wrote after the Battle of Seneff, that the Prince of Orange had acted like an old Captain in all, but only in venturing himself too much like a young Man; and Count Zouches the Imperial General, that the Prince shew'd on that Occasion, the Prudence of an aged Captain, the Courage of a Cæsar, and the undaunted Bravery of a Marius. —The Prince of Conti, in an intercepted Letter to his Princess, after the Battle of Landen, says of him, the King of England seemed present every where, and 'tis pity he should not have the quiet Possession of a Crown, which his Courage so well deserves.

Of all the Stadtholders *William* was certainly the most ambitious ; but, at the same time, the most tenacious of the Public Liberty. He wanted, however, to be a King, but found it easier to dethrone his Father-in-Law, than to bring the United Provinces under his Subjection. The Imprudence of King *James* the II<sup>d</sup> of *England*, was the Preservation of the Republic of *Holland*.



**William**

**William Charles Friso, Prince of  
NASSAU ORANGE,**

*Sixth Stadtholder, Admiral, and  
Captain General, 1747.*

**T**HE States General, whom the Art and Address of *William* the III<sup>d</sup> had blinded to their most essential Interests, did not perceive, even after his Decease, how far they had been deluded. The glorious Part which they had acted before the Peace of *Ryswick* encouraged the Deceit, and the Figure they made afterwards in the *Grand Spanish War* cherish'd the Illusion. The Treaty of *Utrecht*, which they spar'd no Pains to prevent, and which drew upon them the well-known saying of Cardinal *Polignac*, *Gentlemen, we'll treat among you, we'll treat concerning you, and we'll treat without you\** ; this famous Treaty, I say, dissolv'd the

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\* *There was also another Story current at that Time. When Mr. Buys, a Plenipotentiary of Holland, at the Utrecht Congress, moved that the K. of France should be solicited to release the Protestants out of the Gallies and Prisons in France, Abbot Polignac warmly answered, Would not the King be reckoned a busy Intermeddler, should he insist that the States shall release all*  
the



the Charm. They then clearly perceived, what they had scarce before imagined, their Finances so deficient as to be above six hundred Millions in Debt ; such a vast Destruction of Men, that Hands were wanting for the necessary Employments of Life ; their Navy so weaken'd, that it has been impossible for them to restore it ; their Credit so dwindled, that, to this Day, the intelligent Part of Mankind make but little Account of it. Neither was this the most afflicting Prospect that presented itself to the Republick's View : She clearly discern'd that her Wealth, her Troops, and her Shipping had all been lavish'd in support of one Nation whose Aggrandisement she most dreaded ; and for the Interest of another, whose Ruin she most desired ; I mean, *England and France.*

It is indeed true, That by the \* *Affiento Contract*, and the Acquisition of *Gibraltar* and *Port Mahon*, the *English* Commerce had gain'd  
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*the Criminals out of their Rasp and Spin-house, and other Prisons. To which Buys immediately replied, if the august Monarch of France will own the several Criminals and Malefactors in those Places for his spiritual Brothers and Sisters, as the States from their Hearts do the distress'd Protestants in France, I'll engage they shall be all set at Liberty without Delay. However, at Utrecht, the Divine Author of Anti Lucretius is to be considered as the Representative of a bullying Prince, who, by the Defection of the English, had got the Game into his own Hands.*

\* This Word in Spanish is a Convention or Contract. Here it means the Privilege of introducing Negroes into the Spanish

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an almost incredible Superiority over that of the *United Provinces*. And it is as certain, that *France*, on the other hand, became possesst, in effect, of all the Power of which *Philip V.* was not deprived ; for *Spain*, who, without doubt, would have govern'd herself according to her antient Principles of Self-interest, had she not been sufficiently humbled, was constrain'd to throw herself into the Arms of *France*, from whose Power she is never likely to recover her

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*West-Indies*, which, at the Treaty of *Utrecht*, was transferred from the French, to the English South Sea Company ; and this is so strongly secured to them, that the Treaty provides that the *Affientoists* upon Application to the Governors, shall have Liberty to take Cognizance of, and search all Ships and Vessels that shall come upon the Coast of *India*, or into its Ports, in which they suspect contraband Negroes to be ; and if such are found, to take, seize, and confiscate such Ships and their Negroes, of whatsoever Nation they might be. In Virtue of this Contract, the South-Sea Company are yearly to furnish 4,800 Negroes of both Sexes, between 15 and 25 Years of Age, and to pay a Duty to the King of Spain at 33 Piasters per Head, and for all they furnish besides, only half the Duty for the first 25 Years of the *Affiento*. The Negroes are disembarked at *Buenos Ayres*. A good Negroe in their native Country is bought for about 6 or 7 l. and in the Colonies will fetch near 40 l. The poor Wretches, while in View of their Country, fall into such deep Grief, that not a few languish and dye, some destroy themselves by refusing their Food, others dash out their own Brains, and others jump overboard ; it has happened that they have freed themselves by mastering the Ship. The best Means to quiet and preserve them, is to have some musical Instrument to play to them. The *Affiento* Company have a further, and that a very advantageous Privilege, of sending every Year to the Spanish America a Ship of 500 Tons, loaden with the same Commodities as the Spaniards usually carry thither, with a Licence to sell the same at the Fairs of *Porto Bello*, *Carthagena*, *Vera Cruz*, &c.

Inde-

Independency. 'Tis true, indeed, that the *Dutch* obtain'd what they thought absolutely necessary for their own Security ; but it is still a Question amongst the wisest Politicians, Whether the Barrier be really an Advantage to the Republic ? Were the Low-Countries garrison'd by the *Austrians*, they would not then depopulate *Holland* as they now do, and yet perhaps be a better Defence against the Approach of the Common Enemy. But, be this as it will, the Republic found herself in a languishing Condition ; of which the last Stadtholder was look'd upon as the Cause. The Stadtholdership was, therefore, rejected with Contempt ; and what I am going to relate contributed not a little to increase the general Prejudice.

WHEN the *Dutch* became a Free People, the House of *Nassau* was then divided into two powerful Branches, which flourish'd many Years within their Provinces. But when the Elder, which was that of *Orange*, was extinguish'd by the Death of the \*Usurper of the *British* Throne,  
the

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\*About the Year 1672, when the French had over-run a great Part of the United Provinces, and the Prince's Game seem'd desperate, both England and France ply'd him with Offers to make him Sovereign of the Country, but his Answers were always firm—that he would never betray a Trust, nor ever sell the Liberties of his Country, which his Ancestors had defended—that he would rather live upon his Estate in Germany, and pass his Life in hunting there, than sell his Country to France at any Price—that their Condition indeed was very dangerous ; but he had one Way  
still

the younger Branch of *Nassau*, became posselt of part of the Family Estates, and of all its Interest.

THE Stadtholdership of *Friezeland*, which was hereditary, and that of *Groningen*, which the House of *Orange* had posselt'd by Intervals,

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*still left, not to see its final Ruin, which was, to die on the last Dyke. When the Province of Guelderland unanimously offered him the Sovereignty, the Prince said, he would give no Answer upon an Affair of such Moment, without advising with the other Provinces. Some Persons in England were suspected to have tamper'd with Holland about Insurrections, to second the Dutch, and when the English Ambassador signified to the Prince, how obliging the King would take it, if he would discover their Names, the Prince answer'd, he set a great Value on the King's Favour, but no Consideration should bring him to betray those Persons who profess'd to be his Friends—he positively told the English Ambassador that he would rather charge a Thousand Men with a Hundred, though he were sure to die by it, than promote a Peace which was detrimental to his Allies — that he thank'd the King for the Care he offered to take of his Lands and Lordships in Burgundy, but that he would freely part with them all to procure a Town or two more in Flanders to the Spaniards. All agree that he was very plain, downright, and hating all Ambiguity and Tricking; and shall the Behaviour of such a Person be treated as Artifice? Do not his Life and Death shew too serious a Sense of Religion, to dissemble in the solemn Declaration he publish'd at his embarking for England? He was invited over and joined by the most considerable Persons in the Nation. Not a Drop of Blood was spilt. The Crown was conferred upon him by the Lords and Commons in a full Convention, his Designs were always good and great, yet too much thwarted by a worthless Set of Malecontents. A Papist and a Frenchman may in the Rancour of their Hearts call William the III<sup>d</sup> an Usurper, but Protestants and Englishmen should revere him as the Man of God's right Hand, whom he made strong for himself.*

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was till now consider'd as a very moderate Establishment for a Prince. But when the Partizans of both Branches became united, they began to form Schemes that threaten'd the Public Liberty.

To avoid, however, giving Umbrage to the States, who were upon their Guard, they counterfeited for a long Time a most engaging Deportment, which carried the Appearance of perfect Moderation. But in the Year 1722, when all Distrust was sufficiently remov'd, or, it may be, totally banish'd, the Province of *Guelderland* was tamper'd with, singly, to chuse *William Charles Friso*, Prince of *Nassau Orange*, for its Stadtholder. The News of this Demand, and of the favourable manner in which it had been received, cause a general Consternation. All the other Provinces united with one Voice to dissuade the States of *Gelderland* from so dangerous a Step ; and in order thereto address'd them in the following Manner :

“ WE neither can, nor ought we to conceal  
 “ from your Noble Mightinesses, the deep Con-  
 “ cern wherewith we are affected at the Resolu-  
 “ tion you have taken to be govern'd by a  
 “ Stadtholder. And altho' we are sensible of the  
 “ Independency of your Proceedings, and do  
 “ fully acknowledge it, yet have we judg'd our-  
 “ selves authoris'd by those Tyes of common  
 “ Union that bind us in one great Compact, to  
 “ offer to your wise Consideration some season-  
 “ able Reflections. May no false Prejudices  
 “ elude

“ elude the Force of them, or drown the Voice  
 “ of Reason when employ’d in the Cause of  
 “ Liberty ! The History of our Stadtholders is  
 “ the Recital of the Calamities of our Country !  
 “ If the Prosperity of the Republic has incensed  
 “ or armed our jealous Neighbours against us ;  
 “ if cruel Wars have interrupted or ruined our  
 “ Commerce ; if shameful Defeats have un-  
 “ cover’d our Frontiers ; if Divisions and Ca-  
 “ bals have alienated our Affections from one  
 “ another, and cool’d our Ardour ; if Civil  
 “ Discords have consumed our Bowels ; you can-  
 “ not but know, most Puissant Lords, that these  
 “ Evils, great as they are, have all proceeded  
 “ from the Stadtholdership. Hardly have we  
 “ had Time to breathe ; hardly have we begun  
 “ to revive the Langushing State ; when al-  
 “ ready your Projects threaten us with new,  
 “ and, it may be, with greater Misfortunes.  
 “ Our Provinces have been shaken to the Foun-  
 “ dation by the successive Enterprizes of five  
 “ Tyrants, and shall they still sustain farther  
 “ Concussions ? Lay your Hands upon your  
 “ Hearts, and reflect, Noble Mightinesses, that  
 “ in electing a sixth Stadtholder, you give the  
 “ finishing Stroke to the very Being of this  
 “ Republic. By the Memory of those re-  
 “ nowned Virtues that gave Birth to the United  
 “ Provinces ; by the Love which you owe to  
 “ your Country ; by the Value you have for  
 “ our Happiness and your own, we conjure you ;  
 “ put an End, while it is yet in your Power,  
 “ put an End to our Fears. That the  
 “ Blood

“ Blood of our Fellow Citizens who have  
 “ fought for their Country may not be spilt in  
 “ vain ; that our Old Men may not regret that  
 “ the feeble Remains of Life were prolong’d  
 “ to them, only to know Sorrow, and share in  
 “ the general Disgrace ; that our Young Men  
 “ may not reproach us with having delivered  
 “ them up to Bondage ; let us, we beseech you,  
 “ transmit to our Posterity the same Independ-  
 “ dency that was handed down to us by our  
 “ Ancestors. Let us live, and die free. Let us  
 “ be Republicans. Let the Example of those  
 “ illustrious Heroes, whose Blood we boast, in-  
 “ spire us ; let us imitate the great *Barnevelt*,  
 “ *de Wit*, *Tromp*, *Ruiter*, and those other awful  
 “ Shades who would have prefer’d a glorious  
 “ Death to a shameful Subjection. Noble  
 “ Mightiness, abjure the Stadtholdership : All  
 “ of us present request it of you. Make this  
 “ Sacrifice to your Countrymen and Friends ;  
 “ make it to your own Safety ; for without it,  
 “ Liberty is no more, and your Glory is ex-  
 “ tinguish’d forever.”

THIS Speech failed of the Success that was  
 expected from it. Those malignant Spirits  
 whose Intrigues had made it necessary, were ac-  
 tive and deprav’d enough to render it unavailable.  
 The States of *Guelderland* assumed the Air of be-  
 ing insulted by those generous Counsels which  
 they had not ask’d ; but which, for all that, they  
 greatly apprehended. They hurried on their  
 Election ; and the Opposition of the other Pro-  
 vinces serv’d only to advance, by some Months,  
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the Elevation of the new Stadtholder. Happy for the Republic, this Election was neither generally approv'd, nor elsewhere imitated. Possess'd only of the Stadtholdership of *Friezeland*, *Groningen*, and *Guelderland*, the Prince of *Orange* had but little Influence on Public Affairs, when the Commotions that embroil'd *Europe* drew the Armies of *France* into the Low Countries.

LEWIS the XVth, who delights in the Name of a *Titus*, more than in that of an *Alexander* ; who has ever been a good King through Choice, and who has become a Conqueror only by Constraint, no sooner appear'd at the Head of his Troops, than Victory determin'd in their Favour. Every Day brought new Conquests with it, as if the great Actions which he performed were no longer to be remember'd than while they were executing ; and the Fame of one Exploit was to be swallow'd up, by the Succession of a greater. In two Campaigns he made himself Master of the Low Countries, and advanc'd upon the Frontiers of the Republic, who found herself equally embarrass'd by the Moderation of his most Christian Majesty, and the resitless Progress of his Arms.

It was, indeed, commonly believ'd, that the settled Irresolution of the *Dutch* proceeded from a secret Design they had in View of enlarging the Profits of their Commerce, and acquiring the Glory of becoming Mediators ; but those who  
were



were of this Opinion, were ignorant of the true Motives. The United Provinces were wholly taken up with the thoughts of their unhappy Situation : They were inclined to hope, that Time and Circumstances, joined to their own prudent Endeavours, would, at last, concur to bring about their deliverance ; but in this they were disappointed. It happened, as it was always apprehended it would, that the Republic saw herself reduced to the fatal Necessity of either denying the *English* and *Austrian* Troops a safe Retreat in her Provinces ; or incurring the just Indignation of *Lewis* the XVth. Whatever their Inducements were, the States resolved to hazard the latter ; and the Invasion of *Dutch Flanders* by the *French* Forces, and their memorable Success in that Enterprize, were the immediate Consequences of that Resolution.

THE Partizans of the House of *Orange* had secretly wish'd for an Event so favourable to their Views ; and, it is not altogether improbable, were at the bottom of it. The People, always dissatisfy'd with the present Government, be it ever so equitable, fell in with their Measures, and received their Impressions : And the Mob, who seldom fail to make themselves fear'd when they become desperate, tumultuously demanded, that the Prince of *Orange* should be placed at the Head of the Republic.

It is imagined, that the Consequences of the War in 1672, have prejudiced the Minds of the Vulgar in favour of the Stadtholdership. But

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were it as true, as it is false, that the Stadtholder was at that Time the Preserver of the Republic, the Circumstances are at this Day so different, that nothing can be concluded from thence in favour of his Successor. *France* is possess'd of all the Advantages which she then boasted, to facilitate her Conquests : She has upon the Throne a powerful and victorious King, adored by his Subjects : At the Head of her Armies a General equally skilful in projecting, conducting, and executing the grandest Designs ; against whom his Enemies, if he has any still left, can find nothing to alledge : In the Field, numerous Troops, well disciplined, and invincible when headed by Leaders capable of improving the Valour of their Men. But the Disadvantages that changed the Face of Affairs in the first *Dutch War* are not to be apprehended in the present.

*FRANCE*, at that Time, beheld all *Europe* rising up in Arms to eclipse her Glory, or stop the Course of her Victories : Now, she has made her way, and push'd her Conquests, in spite of the Efforts of *Europe* conspired against her. In the former War, she had Allies that traversed her Measures, and regretted the Advantages she gained. In this, the Fidelity and Generosity of her Allies are equal to their Valour and Prudence. Then, her Forces were too much divided for the Defence of Places of little Strength or little Importance. Now, she has learnt the Art of securing whole Provinces without enfeebling, or even without diminishing her Armies.

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I omit many other Reflections, which could not but occur to the Magistrates of *Holland*. It is well known, that a Stadtholder was never their Choice; but that they have been forced to yield, contrary to their Inclinations, to the capricious Folly of the Multitude. It was not their Reason, but their Hearts that failed them. They had Understanding enough to know the public Interest; but they wanted Resolution to pursue it.\*

## THE

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\* *A few Extracts from an honest and ingenious Paper, published weekly in Holland, under the Title of The True Dutchman, may not be amiss here. "The absolute Necessity of our continuing and maintaining the Government of the Stadtholders will appear from comparing their Administrations with that of the Interregnums, from 1650 till 1672, and from 1702 till 1747. The Reasons which the Nobles of Holland alledged last Year to demonstrate the Necessity of settling the Stadtholdership in the Male and Female Issue of the P. of Orange are so weighty, and so universally known that it is needless to set them down here. It is owned that the very great ones of all, who were at the Helm, were not the first Movers of this last Election, no more than of that of William III; but then, neither is it true, that it took its Rise from the meanest People, as has been revilingly spread abroad. Our History shews that we have ever, even under our Counts, had a supreme Chief.*

*"I must justly rank Merchants, Traders, and Manufacturers as the second Class between the Magistracy and the common People, and as justly assert them to be the most impartial, since as, on one Hand, they have no share in Employments, Honours, nor Benefices, so likewise, on the other, they are not to be suspected of being set on by Want to practice against the State. 'Tis these Traders, Merchants, Manufacturers, and Freeholders who finding it the real Interest of the State, as well as theirs respectively, that there should be a Stadtholder, have required and obtained one, and we have seen Matters take another Course immediately from the very first Moment of his Regency, so that we could not but cry out that he was a Gift from the Hand of God. This*  
also

THE Humour of the People begins to govern the Affairs of the United Provinces, just as the Insolence of the *Janisaries* determines the Resolutions of the *Divan*. A Commonwealth of Merchants is treading in the Steps of an Empire, whose Complexion is wholly military. Such an enormous Error in the Government seems to fa-

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also fills us with Hopes, that, upon Tranquillity being restored abroad by a Peace, the Home Disorders will be rectified with more Attention and Exactness, to the Advantage of our Trade, Commerce, Navigation, and Manufactures which have been brought to so low an Ebb, during the last Interregnum,—[Tho' what follows be foreign to the *Stadtholdership*, I could not forbear translating it, as it is for the Honour of England.]—So that the English have not done us the least Injury or Damage. As they do their best, let us do ours. They have the Advantage of living in a Country which abounds in all Necessaries; whereas we have little, or, may it not be said, nothing at all. Besides, all their Goods for Consumption come cheaper than ours, not being under Imposts, and their Workmens Wages are less. Add to this the Encouragement given there to Arts and Sciences, in which they equal, if not surpass other People. Are not these the apparent Means which have carried its Commerce to the Ends of the Earth. We have not in our Time seen them use the least Violence. If that has been the Case formerly, it will be found to have been allowable by War, or as Reprisals, or a brave Revenge for some recent Injury. As to the clandestine Trade to New-Spain, does not the same Charge lie equally against the French and Dutch?—It is undeniable that England is our most antient and most natural Ally, and that both our Interests are so closely interwoven, that they must stand or fall together; so that it is not to be apprehended, that an Union so necessarily mutual, should be easily broke; for tho' our Interests may clash in Point of Trade, yet the very publick Welfare of both Nations, and that of all Europe will keep them from embroiling and risking that Spirit of Liberty which influences both Nations, and is the Cement of their close Union. Which France has always seen with Spleen and Envy."

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your the Opinion of Cardinal *Bentivoglio*, the Man who has searched the deepest of any into the Constitution of the *Dutch* Nation. This great Politician made no Scruple to declare, That the very Being of the Republic would be but of short duration : His Reasons, with which I shall conclude this Treatise, are to the following Effect :

“ 1. BECAUSE the Republic is composed of  
 “ seven different Sovereignities, unequal in  
 “ Power, jealous of one another, divided in Sentiments, and, consequently, ready to degenerate into Anarchy.

“ 2. BECAUSE, notwithstanding the Fondness, which the People seem to have for Independence, yet do they cherish a secret Inclination for a certain Family that sooner or later will deprive them of their Liberties, and bring them into absolute Subjection.

“ 3. BECAUSE the intestine Divisions with which the Republic is almost continually agitated, and for which it is impossible to find a Remedy, will, one Day or other, prove its Ruin.

“ 4. BECAUSE the long and destructive Wars which the Republic has been forced to maintain, have entirely exhausted her Finances, and put it out of her Power to withstand the Attacks of any Prince, who shall take it into his Head to resent her Behaviour.

“ AND

“ AND lastly, Because the Diversity of  
 “ Religions\* that are therein tolerated, neces-  
 “ sarily

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\* No body, in fine, neither single Persons, nor Churches, nay, nor even Commonwealths have any just Title to invade the Civil Rights, and Worldly Goods of another, upon Pretence of Religion. Those who are of another Opinion, would do well to consider, how pernicious a Seed of Discord and War, how powerful a Provocation to endless Hatreds, Rapines, and Slaughters they thereby furnish unto Mankind.—Take away the Partiality that is used, in Matters of common Right, towards those who dissent from the established Religion of the State —Take away the Penalties unto which they are subjected ; and all Things will immediately become safe and peaceable. Nay, those that are averse to the Religion of the Magistrate will think themselves so much the more bound to maintain the Peace of the Commonwealth, as their Condition is better there than elsewhere. And all the several separate Congregations, like so many Guardians of the publick Peace, will watch one another, that nothing may be innovated or changed in the Form of the Government, because they can hope for nothing better than what they already enjoy ; that is, an equal Condition with their Fellow Subjects, under a just and moderate Government.—Now, as it is very difficult for Men patiently to suffer themselves to be stript of their Goods which they have got by their honest Industry, and be delivered up a Prey to other Mens Violence and Rapine, especially when they are otherwise altogether blameless ; What else can be expected, but that these Men, growing weary of the Evils under which they labour, should in the End think it lawful to resist Force with Force, and defend their natural Rights (which are not forfeitable upon Account of Religion ?) That this has been hitherto the ordinary Course of Things is abundantly evident in History. Look on Toleration. I should be unpardonable, to omit a remarkable Instance of King William's Sincerity, and of his Sentiments on this Head. When he came to these Words in the Scotch Coronation Oath, We shall be careful to root out all Hereticks ; he declared, he did not mean by those Words, that he was under any Obligation to become a Persecutor ; to which the Commoners made Answer, that neither the meaning of the Oath, nor the Law of Scotland did import it. Whereupon the King replied that he took  
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“ fairly excites in the Minds of Men such a  
 “ Rancour and Animosity, as cannot fail, in their  
 “ Consequences, to prove fatal to the Republic.  
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*the Oath in that Sense, and called the Commoners and others there present, to be Witnesses of his so doing. To add a Passage in Mather's History of New-England, Come hither, come to Boston, ye Bigots, who will admit but of one Religion in one Community, here is Unanimity without Uniformity, here are various Sects of Christians, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Independants, Anabaptists, &c. all living in the most friendly Harmony, all mutually performing the kind Offices of Life, and all concurring to maintain and promote the publick Welfare. Here, in happy Boston, all your narrow spirited Sophistry is practically confuted.*

F I N I S.

“ Consequence, to prove that the Repub-  
 “ Rancour and Animosity, cannot last, in their  
 “ fully excited in the Minds of Men such a



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